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tions, of skilfully trained armies and navies. This being so, they ought not only to cease to grow, but to begin at once to disappear. So thinks the young ruler who is at the head of the biggest actual army on earth.

The second reason which Nicholas of Russia gives is that the present armaments are crushing the life out of the European populations. Now, to crush the life out of the people—that is, to cripple their industry, to make it difficult for them to get their daily bread, to burden them heavily with taxes, to rob them of the means of mental and moral improvement, to weaken thus their physical and intellectual powers,—is to commit national suicide. That is what the nations with the big armaments are slowly doing. They must, therefore, disarm, in part at least, or go to the wall.

As to the necessity and the practicability of disarmament in general,—of the nations not yet having big armaments, as of those which have,—the reasons are clear and strong:

1. Civilization has reached a point where armies and navies are not needed to ward off the attacks of lawless peoples. Piracy has disappeared from the seas. Commerce needs no protection in any quarter of the world, save in the most exceptional cases. The uncivilized peoples are weak peoples and indisposed to make any aggressive movements against the civilized nations. A military and naval force reduced to the proportions of a home police force would be amply sufficient to any nation for protection of commerce and as security against aggression from uncivilized peoples. The armaments of the civilized nations represent, therefore, their attitude toward each other, and the moment they wish to have it so, they can dispose of all but a police contingent of these armaments with the utmost security.

2. If the armaments are continued, they are certain, from their very nature, to grow and spread. The nations not now having large establishments will gradually, some of them rapidly, build them up. Every phase of the evil will, therefore, be widened and intensified, and the final catastrophe be more terrible. Immediate disarmament is, hence, a necessity, to save civilization from wider and deeper inroads of the immense evil which has already brought so much of the civilized world to impending dissolution, either through violence and desolation, or poverty and general degeneration.

3. Disarmament is required, again, because an all but infallible method of maintaining justice between nations has been found in arbitration. Any nation now having just ground of complaint against another can ask for, and as a rule obtain, the appointment of a neutral board of commissioners, before whom its case can have the fairest and fullest consideration. The civilized nations have all tried arbitration, some of them many times, and have found

it a thoroughly reliable method of securing justice. From the point of view of justice, therefore, armaments are entirely out of date. To continue to maintain them is to assert belief in the right of supremacy of the brutal instincts. There is no argument for their continuance, on the part of the civilized world, except that this so-called civilized world wishes to belie its assumed character, and remain a barbarian and a savage.

“Russia As a Missionary.”

In an article in the *Independent* of December 8, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps pays a striking tribute to the Czar of Russia as a missionary. “It is not the least among the mischiefs and miseries of war,” she says, “that it impedes the movements of all ordinary philanthropies. Lesser suffering pales. Smaller claims are neglected. Other wails of distress are drowned by the cry of the great agony. . . All minor ‘causes’ yield to-day to the great wail of humanity, pleading for the annihilation of war.” Then she asks who heard this wail? Was it the church of Christ? “The very question would start a smile in the offices of the secular press, or of Wall Street.” “The Christian church has not seen fit to enter the great arena of the day, wearing upon her fighting arm the silver-white crown, badge of the Prince of Peace, whose name she bears.” Alas! that this declaration is so near the truth! “Was it the great Republic, standing for all that is ideal in human government, who seized the hour and the opportunity?” “Alas for the great Republic!” “She is haggling with a bleeding, beaten foe for conquests of which she should be ashamed.” “She has found no heart to utter the magnanimous cry for the cessation of war which her tremendous experience might well have rung from her lips.” It was left to the Czar of all the Russias, “to the vast, unlimited monarchy of the Eastern hemisphere, to the most powerful autocracy among civilized nations, to the greatest armed force of the world,” to make this sublime plea for universal peace. “What did, what could the wonder mean?” “One cannot easily understand what it may cost the head of the greatest of empires to institute an elemental reform like this.”

“The despot would dethrone the blackest tyranny of human history so quietly!” “The romance, the tradition, the brutality of war—half the material of letters, nine-tenths of the material of statecraft, God only knows how many parts the material of anguish—he would sweep off the earth by a stroke of whose grandeur he seems to be quite unconscious. The simplicity, the modesty of his appeal are only equaled by its trustfulness.”

The distinguished authoress does not hesitate to call Nicholas II.’s manifesto “the most important

document of this and of any age since the time of Him whose last political direction was 'Put up thy sword.'"

"It would be easy to put back the disarmament of Christian nations another generation or another century by unworthy scepticism or unchristian indifference to the royal deed of this young emperor." "What is the Christian press doing to acknowledge this great claim upon its conscience and its power? It ought to ring from sect to sect and thrill from column to column with the magnificent chance which fate has put into its hands. Shall brute slaughter be expelled by the law of love, and no thanks to the religious classes or the religious journals? Shall Russia be missionary to American citizens? Shall the despot shame the Republic?"

Alas! that Mrs. Ward's questions must be answered as they must! The religious classes and journals of this country, and great masses of the citizens of the great Republic are so busied with the "glory" of arms and the purpose to help the nation to hold territories won by the unchristian law of conquest that they have little thought or space for the most Christian proposition ever made in the whole history of international policies. The Republic undoubtedly sympathizes with the Czar's proposition, but the course which she is just now taking will put the biggest of all difficulties in the way of its realization. If a nation like this must put sixty million dollars into its navy in the immediate future and during the next twelve months spend in the development of its army as much as the annual expenditure of the most military nation of the Old World, what sense, pray, is there in talking of reduction of armaments anywhere?

Mr. Stead's Proposed Pilgrimage of Peace.

Mr. William T. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, has done an immense service in helping to bring about the conditions of public opinion necessary to make the forthcoming Conference called by the Czar a success. He has made a trip to Russia and had two interviews with Nicholas II, and has thus been able to remove from the mind of the civilized world all doubt as to the real and earnest wish of the young Emperor to accomplish what he has proposed in his rescript. He has published also the re-assuring fact that three of the ablest of the Russian ministers who are closest to the Czar are heart and soul with him.

The success of the Conference Mr. Stead declares will depend very much upon the unanimity and enthusiasm with which public sentiment manifests itself from now till the time when the Conference meets in the early spring. In order to call out, concentrate and fittingly manifest public sentiment, he has pro-

posed (see the *Review of Reviews* for December) a Pilgrimage of Peace to be participated in by the United States, Great Britain, the great powers of the European Continent and seven of the smaller powers. This Pilgrimage is to be organized by National Committees named by Local Committees in all the prominent cities of the nations. The Pilgrimage shall start with a deputation of ten from the United States, carrying the President's blessing with it from Washington. It shall be re-enforced by a like deputation in Great Britain. Then it shall go to Paris after having been increased by one delegate each from the seven smaller powers. From Paris with ten leading Frenchmen added to the deputation the proposal is to cross to Berlin, and then to Vienna and Buda-Pesth, and Rome, fresh Pilgrims joining the procession at all these points. In all the points where the Pilgrimage passes there are to be receptions and speeches and public demonstrations in favor of disarmament and peace, and as far as possible similar demonstrations in all other centers.

Mr. Stead's idea is that when the Pilgrimage reaches St. Petersburg and appears before the Czar it shall be able to demonstrate to him "how passionately the people desire peace, how enthusiastically they have responded to his initiative, and how emphatically they bid him stand firm in the name of 'God and the people' and achieve this great good for humanity."

How much of this scheme, if any, shall be carried out, we are not able at this writing to say. It would be a magnificent thing, if it could be done. The proposal has aroused increased interest in the Conference, and public opinion is expressing itself more and more widely as the time of the meeting draws near. Messages of approval from organizations of many kinds have continued to reach Emperor Nicholas from all quarters of the world. He ought to know by this time, both from the official and the private approval accorded his initiative, that the heart of the world is with him. We hope he may be able to impart his own sincerity and earnestness of purpose to all the distinguished men who shall sit in the Conference—and we believe that he will.

There is one fear we have about the Conference—just one—and that is this everlasting talk about the maintenance of the *status quo*. Mr. Stead himself falls into this and thus greatly vitiates what he says. "The supremacy of the British fleet will receive international recognition as one of the fundamental elements of the *status quo*." No, no, Mr. Stead. The Conference will never recognize any such thing. If you go into the Conference, your English delegates, determined to maintain the *status quo* of the British fleet, you will kill the whole thing in less than a minute. The other nations are not going to concede to any one nation a supremacy which will forever